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Mainstreaming the Influences on Higher Order of
Thinking Skills in Humanities, Education,
and Language in Industrial Revolution 4.0



Malang, 23-24 March 2019

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Defending Haudenosaunee Sovereignty as Seen in Oren Lyons' Orations to United Nations

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Abstract. Native American Nations have unique position in American political system. The relation between the U.S. Federal governments and Native nations is different from the relationship between the government and the states. The U.S. Constitution acknowledges hundreds of Native American nations within the U.S. borders as sovereign nations. However, those nations have never been truly free from the influence and interference of the U.S. government. This study discusses how the Haudenosaunee, a Native American Nation, construe the concept of sovereignty in this anomalous situation through the representation of sovereignty in three oration transcripts. The Haudenosaunee faith keeper, Chief Oren Lyons, delivered the orations in United Nations assemblies. The researcher employed Paul Ricoeur's interpretation theory to analyze the scripts. The study found that the Haudenosaunee construe sovereignty as a form of self-determination and self-governance. It is reflected through their cultural integrity and their sense of equal standing to other nations.

1. Introduction

The existence of Native American nations within the United States borders has always been unusual. The U.S. Constitution protects the political or "government-to-government" relationship between the Federal government and Indian nations. This relationship is different from that which the Federal government has with states and foreign nations. They are described as having sovereign status but are never truly free from the influence and domination of the United States. Initially, the U.S. government attempted to assimilate Native Americans into European-American culture. This attempt stems from the idea that if they merge tribal traditions with American culture, Native Americans would peacefully join the majority of the society. These efforts are ranging from Christianizing Native Americans, sending their children away from home to be educated in boarding school-cutting them off from their parents' culture, to breaking down their communal land into private properties. These endeavors fortunately failed to integrate completely all Native American people into dominant American culture. Today 573 federally recognized Native American Nations continue to exist within the U.S. borders (National Congress of American Indian [NCAI], 2017).

One of the remaining Native Nations in the U.S. is Haudenosaunee Confederacy, which is widely known as the Iroquois. This nation's territory used to extend from Lake Champlain and Lake George west to the Genesee River and Lake Ontario and from the St. Lawrence River south to the Susquehanna River (Reid, 1996). French and Dutch were the first Europeans to come into contact with the Haudenosunee. They soon became trading partners. However, this form of interaction did not last long. The Haudenosaunee and Europeans relationship were later filled with wars, treaties, and land loss.

Nothing has changed much after the establishment of the United States. To this day, the Haudenosaunee has lost much of its territory due to treaties and policies that favors the U.S. government.

Despite the ongoing pressure to give up their nations and identity, the Haudenosaunee is still pressing on. They keep on practicing their tradition, passing down their values to their younger generation and continuously fighting for their existence. Their tenacity can be seen from the various legal battles for land claims, many environmental campaigns they organized, and their leaders' appearances in international forums.

Native American leaders' presence in international forum, especially in United Nations Assemblies, plays important roles. It gives them opportunity to be heard. Not only does it call the world attention to the difficulties they face at home, but also empowers other indigenous communities around the world who face similar problems. Being present in international forums demonstrate Native Nations existence. Through such forums, international communities could see that even though they live within the United States territory, they remain uniquely separate nations. Oren Lyons, the faith keeper of the Haudenosaunee, is one of Native American chiefs who have the opportunity to represent Native American Nations. He first made international appearance in UN Assembly in Geneva in 1977.

This paper aims to discuss how Oren Lyons' addresses to United Nation assemblies help us to understand how the Haudenosaunee as a Native nation within the U.S. territory construe the concept of sovereignty. The first object of this study is "Where is the Eagle Seat?," which was delivered in Geneva in 1977. The second is "Address to UN General Assembly" delivered in New York 1992; and the last is "The Ice is Melting in the North" which was spoken in the same city in 2000.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 The Concept of Sovereignty

Sovereignty is a contested term that carries multiple meanings and interpretations. Commonly, people understand sovereignty as a basic attribute of modern nation-states, which are defined as "having a permanent population, a definitive territory, a functioning government, and an ability to conduct relations to other states" (Article 1 of 1933 Montevideo Convention of the Rights and Duties of States via Carlson, 2016, p. 3). A state is said to be sovereign if it has absolute supremacy over internal affairs within its territory, absolute right to govern its people, and freedom from any external interference in the above matters (Wang, 2004, p. 473). The absoluteness of these capacities is often questioned, however, as no modern nation is entirely free from external control. It is caused by relationship established among nations that brings with it limitations through military force, market dynamics, economic sanctions, reputation, or some combination thereof (Cobb, 2005, p. 116). In addition to the previous definition, sovereignty also means the supreme power from which all specific political powers are derived (Carlson, 2016, p. 16). This is the definition written in a 1977 report on Indian sovereignty prepared by the Institute for the Development of Indian Law (Carlson, 2016, p. 16).

The idea of sovereignty comes from across the Atlantic. This used to be the characteristic of the king or queen as a head of state; and it originally comes into being as the resistance from European Kingdoms that wanted to free themselves from union with Catholic Church. They wanted to cut their ties with the overarching authority of the pope. Whenever these kingdoms interacted with one another over jurisdiction, their authorities engaged in the act of asserting sovereignty, claiming to represent an

alternative to the papacy for the legitimate exercise of political and legal power. This would later lead to the formulation of what would be called as international law in the future, and the system of nation-state emerged from this situation (Carlson, 2016, p. 17).

As time goes by, the concept of sovereign power was no longer seen as the attribute of king or queen or the head of state. It became the attribute of the state itself. In modern and Western politics and law, the concept of sovereignty means that the nation-states possess supreme legislative and political authority, that they are legally independent, formally autonomous, and geographically separate. They are thus entitled to be free from interference by other states in their internal governance (Jackson via Carlson, 2016, p. 19).

By looking at the definition above, the Native American nations within the United States borders cannot be seen as sovereign nations. However, they are not formally called as colonies as well. Under U.S. Indian law, Native American nations has been associated with the term sovereignty, but in an alternate sense to full state sovereignty (Carlson, 2016, pp. 19-20).

Emma Gross identifies four main forms of sovereignty that are often used by Native American scholars or activist. They are political sovereignty, which is also called as tribal nationalism, legal sovereignty, self-determination, and self-governance. Carlson (2016) argues that self-governance is actually just one element of self-determination.

Political Sovereignty/Tribal Nationalism

The advocates of political sovereignty aspired to achieve some form of independent nation status. There are some militant Indian political movements associated with it. For example are American Indian Movements (AIM) and United Native Americans. The political rhetoric and manoeuvres used by members of both organizations since the late 1960s might be seen as earlier representation of this strain of sovereignty talk (Carlson, 2016, p. 37).

Legal Sovereignty

People who use legal sovereignty as strategies are commonly lawyers, legal professional and many tribal officials who advocate for Indian interests primarily within the framework of US legal-political system. Individuals or groups who use this strategy accept the need to work within the basic parameters of Indian sovereignty as defined by US Indian law. There are several points stressed by advocates of legal sovereignty. They are cultivating political relationships in Washington, developing viable litigation strategies to advance Native American interests, pressing for the honoring of treaty terms and the preservation of the existing land base, and maintaining the trust relationship between tribes and the federal government in the most advantageous terms possible (Carlson, 2016, p. 37).

Self-determination and Self-governance

Through self-determination movement, Native nations participation in the decision making process and commissioning administered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) is maximized. With self-determination, Native nations sought to achieve restoration of tribal community, self-government, cultural renewal, reservation development and educational control.

Today native nations' governments have rights to maintain their power to decide their own governance structure, pass and enforce law through tribal courts just like state government. They can build infrastructure such as roads, bridges, and public buildings; they can provide public services such as

social programs, education, workforce development, and energy and land management (National Congress of American Indian [NCAI], 2017).

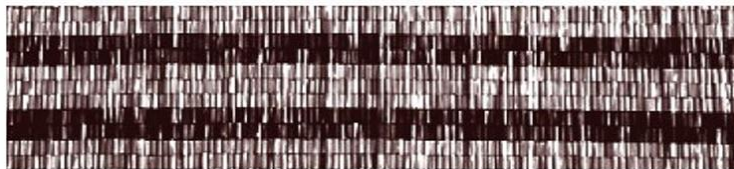
Historically, the emergence of federal policy that favors self-determination can be traced back to the 1930s. John Collier, a social worker who respected tribal cultures and values, was appointed commissioner of Bureau of Indian Affairs under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933. He reformed BIA policies that Native American nations could have more control and influence over BIA decision making (Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1938, pp. 209–211 via historymatters.edu). Self-determination and self-governance is indispensable if tribal communities are to continue to protect their unique cultures and identities.

2.2 The Haudenosaunee

The Haudenosaunee Confederacy are amongst Native Americans who survive until today. There are six constituent Native nations that forms the Haudenosaunee. They are Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Tuscarora (Reid, 1996). Oren Lyons whose orations are analyzed in this study comes from Onondaga tribe of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

In 1600 the population of the Five Nations is estimated to have been about a thousand and five hundred. By 1904 the six Haudenosaunee nations population reached sixteen thousand, not including several thousand persons of mixed blood. In the 1980s their total population was estimated to be over twenty thousand (Reid, 1996).

One of the earliest treaties made by the Haudenosaunee was recorded in two-row wampum belts, which was cultural material made of quarter-inch-long cylindrical beads carved out of shells found along the Atlantic coast (Johansen & Mann, 2000, p. 326). Here is the example of two row wampum which records the agreement made in 1613 in upstate New York between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch colonies.



Source: Harris & Johnson, 2009, p.7

Figure 1. Two Row Wampum

The two parallel lines of purple beads represent the two parties to the agreement. One purple line for a Haudenosaunee canoe and the other for a European ship, they were traveling side by side. Each boat contains the owner's culture, traditions, laws, language and ways of life. The white parallel lines illustrate that the two would travel in peace and friendship without interference (Harris & Johnson, 2009, p.7). This belt represents the earliest peace treaty between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch in which the two sides agreed to respect each other's cultures and to never interfere in each other's affairs (Harris & Johnson, 2009, p. 7). This wampum demonstrated that from the very beginning, Haudenosaunee was regarded as separate sovereign nation by the White settlers.

Haudenosaunee tribes began to lose large portion of their land since after the American Revolution. They were forced to give up their land through series of treaties in the late 1700s (Gonyea, 1986, p. 19). The loss of vast quantities of land does not stop there, but it continues until the last half of

the 20th century (Graymont, 2005, p. 100). This condition provokes Haudenosaunee's sense of militancy and determination to oppose the ongoing domineering treatment by the white-dominated government.

In 1971, New York State Department of Transportation had planned to widen a section of Interstate 81 that ran along the border of the Onondaga Reservation and create an acceleration lane that would take far more land than was agreeable to the reservation residents without consulting the Onondagas (Graymont, 2005, p. 103). Consequently, in August, the Haudenosaunee organized a sit-down on the work site. This protest hindered the heavy construction vehicles to pass, thus it stopped the road construction. Over the weeks the protest grew larger and it continued on through October. Finally, an agreement was reached between Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the council of chiefs, permitting the state to widen the shoulder of the highway but not to include the large acceleration lane that had originally been planned. It was significant that the governor of New York had negotiated on an equal basis with the Haudenosaunee chiefs and had reached an agreeable compromise (Graymont, 2005, p. 104).

During the last half of the twentieth century, federal and state authorities took some portions of Haudenosaunee land (Gonyea, 1986:31). In 1958 and 1959 the Tuscarora and Seneca nations fought legal battle against the New York State Authorities who confiscated Tuscarora land for a power reservoir and permit the construction of and Kinzua Dam in Seneca Reservation (Gonyea, 1986, p. 31). In 1974 authorities illegally took some Mohawk Nation's territory (Gonyea, 1986, p. 31).

3. Literature Review

Hannum, an international lawyer, discussed the relevance of Native American sovereignty in this century (1999). He perceived sovereignty as constitutional or legal independence that is usually possessed by a state. It should possess a permanent population, a defined territory, government, and the capacity to enter into relations with other states.

Native Americans view sovereignty as a valuable concept. They have been struggling for it legally and culturally, believing that by gaining sovereignty they will be able to end the problems they faced as minorities.

Hannum, on the other hand, argues that sovereignty per se is not the solution for all predicaments faced by Native Americans. He illustrated that even independent states around the world have varied "independence" in exercising their power. Furthermore, he recounted a case in Navajo Reservation in 1998 when Albert Hale, the president of Navajo Nation, was highly criticized by the members of his own tribe and neighboring communities as he decided to close all the roads to Navajo Reservation in an attempt to gain Navajo Sovereignty. This event showed the reluctance of American citizen, including members of Native American community, to consider Native American Nations as "sovereign nations" within the United States. As a lawyer he stated that domestic or international law cannot provide easy answers to the complex problem of how Native American governments will relate to other governments and citizens in the twenty-first century. What is important according to Hannum is that both parties-Native American Society and American Government-must have mutual consent to solve problems rising from their often conflicting rights and interest.

Amanda J. Cobb in her *Understanding Tribal Sovereignty: Definitions, Conceptualizations, and Interpretations* attempted to discuss the concept of sovereignty. She pointed out that prior to 1965, the word sovereignty was not often used to describe Native American Citizen. Now, this word is used frequently in the same manner as the term "liberty" or "freedom." In her article, Cobb quoted Deloria

(2001) saying that Native American Studies Scholars must not throw around the big word such as “sovereignty” without giving real contribution to Native American communities.

Cobb realizes that the term sovereignty must have some identifiable characteristics and locatable meaning. Looking at the origin of this word, Lyons (Ojibway) recognized the definition of power carried by the word sovereignty, which is “locatable and recognizable power.” Although a nation’s sovereignty is inherent, but its ability to exercise its power in the world depends on acknowledgement or recognition from other nations. For Native American Nations, exercising their sovereignty is not easy because of their unequal power relation with the U.S. Government. They are paracolonial nations. Sovereignty is something that is inherent, but US Government often view that it is them who gave native people sovereign status.

Different from Hannum, Amanda J. Cobb strongly believes that sovereignty also manifests some indescribable quality, not wholly of the legal realm. She believes that sovereignty is also something which is deeply embedded in culture. There is association between sovereignty and cultural integrity.

Both Native Nations and US Government highlight the importance of cultural component in tribal sovereignty. However, they view it in very different ways. For Native nations, concepts of government and culture are inseparable. Sovereignty for native people also means cultural continuance. However, for the United States, tribal cultural integrity is viewed as a criterion, a quality that Native nations must prove for their sovereign status to be recognized. If American Indians cannot demonstrate their cultural distinctiveness within American society, Congress can simply terminate its government-to-government relationships with tribes and deny their sovereignty, as happened during the termination era of the 1950s.

Should Native American use the user-friendly term such as self-determination or cultural identity or cultural autonomy to replace the term sovereignty? Cobb argues that native people must use the term sovereignty because the language of sovereignty carries practical power; the practical powers of tribal sovereigns include (but are not limited to) the following:

“.. the power to adopt its own form of government; to define the conditions of citizenship/membership in the nation; to regulate the domestic relations of the nations’ citizens/members; to prescribe rules of inheritance with respect to all personal property and all interest in real property; to levy dues, fees, or taxes upon citizen/members and noncitizens/nonmembers; to remove or to exclude nonmembers of the tribe; to administer justice; and to prescribe the duties and regulate the conduct of federal employees (Cobb, 2005).”

If sovereignty carries those powers, then it unquestionably remains an appropriate term for Native nations. Cobb believes that Government and culture are not separate ideas. Sovereignty, as employed in the American sense, connotes the nation’s ability to self-govern as a nation of individuals with individual rights. Sovereignty, for Native peoples, on the other hand, has a very different purpose. According to Lyons, “For Native peoples, sovereignty is the nation’s ability to exist, thrive, and continue—not as individuals with individual rights, but as a collective whose sole existence is geared toward the continuation of the group.”

In this study, the researcher aspires to see how a Native American nation, Haudenosaunee, construe the concept of sovereignty by looking at their chief’s orations in international forum.

4. Methodology

The writer employs Paul Ricoeur's theory of interpretation. According to Ricoeur interpretation fills the gap between the speakers' initial intention and what his statements mean outside of his intentions (Ghasemi, Taghinejad, Kabiri, & Imani, 2011).

There are three steps of analysis in Ricoeur's interpretation. They are explanation, interpretation and understanding (Tan *et al.*, 2009). Understanding is more directed towards the intentional unity of discourse (the view of the whole), while explanation is more directed towards the analytic structure of the text (Ricoeur, 1976, p. 74).

Conducting a library research, the researcher will gather the data from journals, books, articles, and websites. The main data of the study are three Oren Lyons speech transcripts entitled "Where is the Eagle Seat?," "Address to UN General Assembly," and "The Ice is Melting in the North." Whereas other data related to the speech and the Haudenosaunee culture will be used as supporting data.

5. Representation of Haudenosaunee Sovereignty in Chief Oren Lyons Orations to United Nations

5.1 The Use of Indigenous Terminologies

In the three orations, Oren Lyons used various Indigenous terms. One of the indigenous terms he used is the Turtle Island to refer to American continent. The following is the quotations from the first speech.

"Of the Red brothers of the Western Hemisphere, of the two Great Turtle Islands a certain few of us have been given a short time and a great task to convince you that we too are human. And have rights (Scharding, 2002, p. 93)."

In the second speech he did similar thing as he said, "I am Oren Lyons of the Haudenosaunee, and I am speaking on behalf of the indigenous people of North America, of this great Turtle Island (Ewen, 1994, p. 31)." Lyons, in the beginning of his speeches, introduced himself as the representative from the Turtle Island, not the American Continent.

There is a myth believed by many Native nations that American Continent was formed by a turtle who offers it shell to carry the Sky Woman who fell down from heaven to earth. The Turtle vowed to carry the Earth above him forever as he swam (Johansen & Mann, 2000, pp. 89, 90). The Sky Women would later have a daughter who would die in parturition. This daughter of the Sky Woman became Mother Earth as she died, because from her grave grow plants that would sustain human beings' existence (Johansen & Mann, 2000, p. 91). The indigenous term of Mother Earth also appeared in Oren Lyons speech.

In his 1977 speech Lyons said, "On behalf of our mother the Earth and all the great elements we come here and we say they too have rights" (Scharding, 2002, p. 93). In the second speech he remarked, "Our mothers nurture and guard that seed, and we respect and love them for that, just as we love etenoha, Mother Earth, for the same spiritual work and mystery," (Ewen, 1994, p. 31). In the third speech the term Mother Earth is also found as Lyons said, "There can be no peace as long as we wage war upon Our Mother, The Earth" (Lyons, 2000).

Oren Lyon's faithfulness to continue referring to the land as Turtle Island and calling the Earth as Mother shows that as a Haudenosaunee, he continued to see the American land and the earth through the eyes of tradition.

In addition to the two Indigenous terms, Lyons also spoke native language when he greeted the audience in the beginning of his third speech. He said *Neyaweha-scana*, which means: thank you for being well. He closed two of his speeches by saying *Dahnato, Neyawenha*, meaning “I am finished; thank you.”

5.2 Assertion That the Haudenosaunee Has Equal Standing with Other Nations

In the first oration, Lyons emphasize that the Haudenosaunee has equal standing with other people in the world by saying that they too are human; therefore, they have rights. Here is the quotation.

“Of the Red brothers of the Western Hemisphere, of the two great Turtle Islands, a certain few of us have been given a short time and a great task to convince you that we too are human. And have rights ... We were told in the beginning that we were not human. There are great arguments in the histories of many countries as to the humanness of the Red people of the Western Hemisphere. I must warn you that the Creator made us all equal with one another (Scharding, 2002, p. 93).”

In the citation, Oren Lyons mentioned that everybody is created equal by the Creator. For the Haudenosaunee, equal value possessed by human beings is inherent as it is given to them by the Creator. Lyons, in a different occasion, pointed out that this is the concept of sovereignty understood by the Haudenosaunee. He said that they apply sovereignty even further than nations. They apply it to individuals in the form of respect. This nation understands the concept of freedom and being born free with rights (Lyons, 1991). The quotation demonstrates that for the Haudenosaunee their position have always been and continues to be equal to all peoples and nations.

5.3 Challenge to the United States Government

The first speech in 1977 is one of the first international forums in which Native American delegates were given chance to voice their aspiration. Lyons used that chance to question the President of the United States about the violation of human rights done by the U.S. Government to Native Americans.

“The President of the U.S.A has brought forth into the forum, of the international world, the issue of human rights. It affords us the opportunity at this time to present our position on the issue of human rights. It is strange indeed that we have to travel this far to the east, to the European continent to turn and speak to the President of the U.S. and ask him about our human rights (Scharding, 2002, p. 93).”

This question can be seen as political measures taken by Lyons. Questioning the President of the United States in such forum would certainly call the world’s attention. The subjugation of Native American by the U.S. is certainly a violation of human rights; and this problem was certainly not addressed well at home, as Lyons said that the Native American delegates needed to travel to European continent to ask the President about their inalienable rights.

Lyons took another political measure in the second speech. The following are the quotation.

“Another issue is that of violations of treaties that we have with the United States and Canada: there are 371 ratified treaties and agreements between the Indian nations and the United States. The Ruby Valley treaty of the Western Shoshone is a prime example of what the violations of treaties bring: human rights violations, forced removals, disenfranchisement of traditional people with confiscations of their property and livestock (Ewen, 1994, p. 31).”

Lyons pointed out treaty violations done by the U.S. and Canadian Government in the quotation. He did not stop there, he proceeded by telling the audience about violation of sacred sites done to Apache Nation.

"The refusal to recognize and support the religious freedoms of our people and the decisions of the Supreme Court which incorporate this attitude into federal law translate into the violation of sacred sites. Mt. Graham in Apache country is now a projected site for an observatory, causing great stress to the Apache peoples who have depended upon the spiritual forces of this mountain for survival (Ewen, 1994, p. 31)."

In the above quotation, Lyons pointed out the problem of sacred sites violation that caused distress to other fellow Native American Nation, the Apache Nation. To Native American, land is an integral part of their spiritual survival. The federal government decision to build observatory project in their sacred sites was certainly an insult to the Apache Nation.

This discussion about abuses done by the U.S. and Canadian government and intrusion to Native American sacred sites shows that Oren Lyons, as Native American leader, know well about the rights of his people. By bringing up of this subject matter, he let the U.S. and Canadian government know that they could not do to Native People whatever they wanted to do; he let them know that there are boundaries they should never trespass.

5.4 Remark on Haudenosaunee Tradition

The three speeches were full of Haudenosaunee tradition. The most apparent tradition that was always shared by Oren Lyons is Haudenosaunee worldview that perceives equality among all creations.

Oren Lyons advocates the principle of equality of all creations and the rights of the natural world as he said,

"Our nations who have principles of justice and equality, who have respect for the natural world, on behalf of our mother the Earth and all the great elements we come here and we say they too have rights... And it is with this spirit that we come here and we hope that the people and the nations from which we come and to which we will have to return and which we will have to face, whatever they may have in store for our speaking the truth on behalf of people, of the world, of the four-footed, of the winged, of the fish that swim. Someone must speak for them. I do not see a delegation for the four-footed. I see no seat for the eagles (Scharding, 2002, p. 93)."

When questioning about the delegation of the natural world in the assembly, Lyons metaphorically asserted how important it is to address environmental issues in the gathering. In the Haudenosaunee tradition, when the councils gather, they were instructed not only to talk about the wellbeing of the people, but also the natural world.

This worldview embraced by the Haudenosaunee is foreign to the audience. In western tradition, human being is considered as superior to the rest of creations; and they are given the rights to outsource the natural world to their advantage. It is different for the Haudenosaunee. They have a concept that all forms of creations are linked to one another and all of them are equal (Cajete, 2000, p. 95).

The second Haudenosaunee tradition that can be identified in the three oration texts is concern for future generation. The quotation is as follow.

"The future generations, our children, our grandchildren, and their grandchildren are our concern. That they may have clean water to drink that they may observe our four-footed brothers before they are extinct, that they may enjoy the elements that we are so fortunate to have and that serves us as human beings (Scharding, 2002, p. 93)."

The quotation demonstrates that in Haudenosaunee community the generations to come have equal rights with the present generation. They should be able to enjoy the natural resources enjoyed by

present generation. The concern for future generation can also be found in the second oration as Lyons said, "...Our leaders were instructed to be men with vision and to make every decision on behalf of the seventh generation to come, to have compassion and love for those generation yet unborn (Ewen, 1994)." In this citation, Oren Lyons stresses the obligation of the Haudenosaunee leaders to make the decision on behalf of the future generation.

In Haudenosaunee tradition, the obligation of leaders to think about the future generation in their decision-making is regulated in the Great Law of Peace, the law that governs Haudenosaunee community. The term 'seventh generation' shows how important it is for Haudenosaunee leaders to be visionary, to be able to see far into the future.

The obligation to keep the welfare of the seventh generations to come is not only the responsibility of the leaders, but also the responsibility of all people. This idea is reflected in the following quotation in which Lyons stated that all people have responsibility to choose a path of life which has the future for the children.

"So then, what is the message I bring to you today? Is it our common future? It seems that we are living in a time of prophesies, a time of definitions and decisions. We are the generation with the responsibility and option to choose the path of life with a future for our children-or the path that defies the laws of regeneration. Even though you and I are in different boats-you in your boat and we in our canoe-we share the same river of life. What befalls me befalls you. And downstream, downstream in this river of life, our children will pay for our selfishness, for our greed, and for our lack of vision (Ewen, 1994)."

Oren Lyons, in his statement above implied that thinking about the welfare of the coming generations is not only the obligation of the Haudenosaunee, but the obligation of all people. It is because the Haudenosaunee and other people shared common fate, for there is only one world that people live in.

The next concept from the Haudenosaunee tradition introduced by Lyons is natural law. This concept was implicitly declared in the following quotation.

"Power is not manifesting in the human being. True power is in the Creator. If we continue to ignore the message by which we exist and we continue to destroy the source of our lives then our children will suffer (Scharding, 2002, p. 93)."

Lyons was talking about natural law when he mentioned that human beings will suffer if they destroy the source of their lives (the natural world). In the second speech he made similar statement.

"Can we survive another five hundred years of sustainable development? I don't think so. Not with the definition of sustainable used today-I don't think so. So reality and the natural law will prevail; the law of the seed and regeneration. We can still alter our course. It is not too late. We still have options. We need the courage to change our values for the regeneration of our families, the life that surrounds us (Ewen, 1994)."

In his statement above, Lyons prophesize that people cannot survive another five hundreds of years with the definition of sustainability people used today. It means that generations who lived in the coming five hundred years will face hardship, and probably the world is not going to be a good place to live in. It is because the prevailing of the natural law, as if people continue to violate this law by living unsustainably, their survival as human being species will definitely be at threat.

Natural law is a powerful influence in traditional Haudenosaunee understanding. Those who chose to ignore it, or toil against it, often suffered grave repercussions (Cousins, 2004). People cannot excessively exploit the natural resource and expect nothing to happen. This causal connection of

destroying the source of life and the suffering of people is one example of the working mechanism of natural law believed by Haudenosaunee.

The next Haudenosaunee tradition mentioned in Lyons' speech is the Great Law of Peace. Here is his statement.

"This proclamation brings hope, inspiration, and a renewed dedication to our quest for self-determination, justice, freedom, and peace in our homelands and our territories. Indeed, the quest is a renewal of what we enjoyed before the coming of our white brothers from across the sea. We lived contentedly under the Gayaneshakgowa, the Great Law of Peace. We were instructed to create societies based upon the principles of peace, equity, justice, and the power of the good mind (Ewen, 1994)."

The Great Law of Peace, the law by which the Haudenosaunee live, contains three counterbalancing principles of life (Johansson & Mann, 2000, p. 137). Within these three counterbalancing principles lie what are called by Oren Lyons in his oration as the principle of peace, equity, justice, and the power of the good mind. The first truism was that a stable (good) mind and healthy body should be in balance so that peace between individuals and groups could occur (Johansson & Mann, 2000, p. 137).

Democratic principle from the Haudenosaunee tradition was also asserted in one of the orations. The following is Lyon's statement about the democratic principle of the Haudenosaunee.

"Our societies are based upon great democratic principles of authority in the people and of equal responsibilities for the men and the women. This was a great way of life across this great Turtle Island; and freedom, with respect, was everywhere (Ewen, 1994)."

The democratic principle declared by Oren Lyons above is different from democratic principle in American understanding. Specifically, in this oration, Lyons showed two important principles within Haudenosaunee democracy, which are authority in the people and equal responsibilities for Haudenosaunee men and women. These two principles are intertwined to one another, and this intertwining is reflected in the Haudenosaunee political system.

First of all, the primary mode of Haudenosaunee political system is consensus and this is regulated within the Great Law of Peace in the section Popular Sovereignty (Johansson & Mann, 2000, p. 61). Consensus in Haudenosaunee is a long process, and is clearly different from the concept of consensus in western paradigm which is designed for speed and efficiency (Johansson & Mann, 2000, p. 61). In order to arrive at consensus, all minds had first to be consulted and the consultation occurred through a set round of councils. These councils represented clans, with the Clan Mothers' councils (women council) meeting locally and the men's Grand Council meeting federally. Each council level, whether female or male, had to be in consensus before it sent a matter forward. The next council in line could not meet until its preceding council or subcommittee of council had come to an agreement on the matter (Johansson & Mann, 2000, p. 61). Furthermore, there is no hierarchy nor is the structure of political system top-down as usually found in western governmental system. The structure was horizontal. The top leaders of Haudenosaunee, Jigonsaseh and Adodaroh's positions are first among equals; their jobs are to facilitate consensus, not to issue directives. This is the democracy of the Haudenosaunee; with this system, freedom and respect among people, specifically among men and women can be maintained. With consensus conducted to make sure that all minds are considered, the authority of the people is guaranteed. Moreover, the possibility of power abused was narrowed because there is no concept of hierarchical structure within the government. This ideal vanished with the coming of European settlers. In the colonial era, a hierarchical structure of government was reinforced to the

Haudenosaunee; and as the United States was established, its government disbanded the women councils as one action of its forced assimilation policy. Those are the Haudenosaunee traditions reflected in Oren Lyons addresses to United Nations.

5.5 U.S. Territory vs. Native American Territory

In the second speech, Lyons recounted the history of European colonization in America. He highlighted how the coming of European settlers has been detrimental to Native Americans.

"All of these troubles have come from across the sea. The catastrophes that we have suffered at the hands of our brothers from across the sea have been unrelenting and inexcusable. They have crushed our peoples and our nations down through the centuries. You brought us disease and death and the idea of Christian dominion over "heathens," "pagans," "savages." Our lands were declared vacant by papal bulls. You created laws to justify the pillaging of our lands. We were systematically stripped of our resources, religions, and dignity. Indeed, we became resources of labor for gold mines and in cane fields. Life for us was unspeakably cruel ... Five hundred years ago, you came to our pristine lands of great forests, rolling plains, and crystal clear lake, streams, and waters. Since then we have suffered in your quest for god, for glory, for gold. But we have survived (Ewen, 1994)."

This recount shows that Native Americans, particularly the Haudenosaunee, have a clear communal memory that they are the rightful owner of the American land and all the natural resources it has. Their ancestors were robbed of their life sustenance and dignity due to European expansion.

6. Haudenosaunee Interpretation over Their Sovereignty as Suggested by Chief Oren Lyons Orations to United Nations

From the representation of sovereignty in the texts, it can be concluded that the Haudenosaunee construes sovereignty in the form of self-determination and self-governance. This Native nation does not sought to be politically and legally separated from the United States. They asserted their sovereignty mainly by showing that they have cultural integrity. They know clearly that they have equal standing with other nations in the world, and thus they are willing to take part in addressing world problem such as environmental problem.

6.1 Cultural Integrity

The Haudenosaunee are still practicing their traditions. Lyons used Indigenous terminologies in his speech. He also pointed out some of Haudenosaunee traditions that concerns about the fate of the future generation. He talked about equality among all creations that only exists in Indigenous paradigm. He discussed about the Great Law of Peace, the Haudenosaunee constitution by which the Haudenosaunee people live. The democratic principle that governed by the Great Law of Peace was also mentioned in the oration. This sense of cultural integrity strengthens their identity as a sovereign nation. They do not just assimilate to the dominant culture, but they retain their identity as a separate nation by holding unto their tradition.

6.2 Equal Standing

From the three orations, it can be inferred that the Haudenosaunee have a clear sense that they are not subordinate. They have fundamental belief on equality among all human beings and all creations. They have sense of entitlement over the American land. They have clear communal memory over the

colonization of the European settler that changes the course of their fate as a nation. They can recount the treaties violated by the U.S. Government; they know their rights and they stand their ground.

6.3 Participation in Addressing World Problem

By sending their delegates to international forum, the Haudenosaunee maintained nation-to-nation relationships as an active expression of their right to self-determination. Sharing the Haudenosaunee tradition, such as Indigenous knowledge concerning future generation and equality among all creations, can contribute to the possible solution to the world's environmental problems caused by continuous unsustainable practice. Through the sharing of Haudenosaunee Indigenous knowledge, the orators, Oren Lyons demonstrated that Native American people can play an important part in global forum to give alternative solution for world problem.

7. Conclusion

As one of the remaining Native nations within the United States Border, the Haudenosaunee construe their sovereignty as a form of self-determination and self-governance. The representation of sovereignty that can be found in the oration texts are the use of indigenous terminology, assertion that they have equal standing with other nations, challenge to the U.S. government, remark on the Haudenosaunee tradition, and revealing the subjugation of the Haudenosaunee. From the identified representation, it is concluded that the Haudenosaunee asserts their sovereignty through cultural integrity, belief that they have equal standing with the U.S. and other nations, and their participation to address world problem by sharing their indigenous knowledge in international forums.

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